

American Universities Field Staff



FIDELISMO IN PERUVIAN UNIVERSITIES

Part II: The Fidelistas Take Power

by Richard W. Patch

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Peru is a country of wealth, where a millionaire feels uncomfortable in the Club Nacional because he was bourgeois enough to make his money with his own hands. It is also a country of poverty, where in the city of Lima thousands subsist by hawking lottery tickets, driving ancient taxis, washing clothes in murky rivers, and by cachueleando -- "moonlighting" in any cash-producing activity which may present itself.

Students of the University of San Marcos in Lima are neither privileged nor entirely poverty stricken. The rich study abroad, the mass of the poor never finish school. By and large San Marcos students are upwardly mobile, coming from Lima's lower class or provincial "good" but money-short families, usually aspiring to the "professional class" which is a substitute for a middle class in Peru. Some who study medicine, pedagogy, economics, or law hope to find their career in politics. Most students conceive of "revolution" not as a disaster to be feared but as an opportunity which may give them a larger slice of a small pie.

The students have long been revolutionaries, and for 30 years the pattern of revolution was set by Apra, a party declaring itself against "imperi-

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alism" and "The Oligarchy" and for the downtrodden peoples of "Indo-America." For 30 years Apra permeated the university, to the point where party affiliation was a prerequisite for student office. The generation of Apra hegemony came to an end in 1956 when national leaders directed Apristas to support a conservative presidential candidate, Manuel Prado, and were promised in exchange legalization of the party and posts in the cabinet. Prado, a member of a wealthy banking family, won the election because of the Apra votes. Four years later his Government is still conservative, and most of the original Apra appointees have been dropped from the Cabinet.

As Apra's star dimmed a new one rose in Cuba. Fidel Castro Ruz, covered with the glory of the battle with Batista, appeared the embodiment of the struggle against tyranny and privilege. He was taken to heart in the university even while elders scoffed at the beards and were alarmed by the summary executions.

The history of the spread of Fidelismo in the university was described in my last Report. The Apristas were the first to champion the 26th of July Movement; but they soon gave way to the Communists. Many students viewed with suspicion the relation between Castro's movement and communism, especially after hemisphere Communists pronounced in favor of Ecuador's claim to territory confirmed to Peru by the 1942 Rio de Janeiro Treaty. It became prudent for the most Communist-oriented student leaders to retire behind the scenes, set up new organizations, put up candidates who were not known Communists, and play down Russia and Red China in favor of the "indigenous Latin revolution in Cuba."

This was done with considerable success. The extent of the success became apparent in the election of officers for the student University Federation for 1961, of officers of the ten associated student college Federated Centers, and of student representatives to the University Council. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Fidelo-Communists, and the second and worst defeat in two years for the Apristas.

The process and results of the election illustrate the course and fate of the left in the university. The composition and background of the students naturally inclines them to the left. For many years this sentiment was mobilized and directed by Apra. As Apra moved to the right Fidelismo became the new catalyst giving an outward semblance of coherence to the left. But the appearance was deceptive because, at first, Fidelismo in the university was little more than an admiration society for Castro's Cuba, with some, but not all, students vaguely feeling that the changes in Cuba might be adapted to an attack on Peruvian problems. In this first stage political philosophy was so little defined that the Apristas attempted to attract the Castro admirers to Apra by echoing Fidelista slogans.

But the large majority of Apristas are anti-Communists and the in-

creasingly Communist cast of Fidelismo in Cuba conflicted with Apra doctrine and beliefs. Instead of denouncing the popular movement in the university they quietly withdrew their support leaving the way open for the university Communist sympathizers to organize the left around Fidelista ideals. At this point the 26th of July Movement in the University of San Marcos became little more than a Communist front. There are undoubtedly individuals in the various organizations furthering Fidelismo who are not Communists and who do not sympathize with communism, but they are the followers, exerting little influence in the activities of the organizations. The leaders are, for all practical purposes, Communists. This does not mean they are Party members, although some may be. It does mean that these leaders align themselves with the Soviet Union, get their ideas from Soviet publications, follow closely the pronouncements of Soviet officials, and believe that international communism is the solution for Peru's political future. They condemn the United States, reject free enterprise as a philosophy, and attack Western investment as a practice. They have seized on the popularity of the 26th of July Movement as a means to an end. That end is the strengthening and consolidation of the left as a basis for communism. The situation appears parallel to that of Cuba itself--those who genuinely have the national interests of the country at heart have put themselves in the hands of leaders inspired by the Soviet Union.

For this reason I have used the term Fidelo-Communist to refer to the entire movement. It is virtually impossible to distinguish between Communists, philo-Communists, and Fidelistas on the basis of their public actions. In general I have tried to limit the use of "Communist" to individuals who have declared themselves to be Communists. It would be helpful to be able to clearly identify philo-Communists and Fidelistas, but here public declarations do not correspond to obvious sympathies. The leaders intentionally compound the confusion.

Lest it seem unrewarding to delve more deeply into an election among 11,000 students in a country of 11 million people, it is necessary to understand the peculiar role of university elections in a republic where no local elections are held. The student parties are national parties, and the national party organizations pour substantial effort and money into the student elections. It would be a mistake to think of parties in the university as only loosely tied to national party organizations. Many students vote, they take part in national election committees, they stage the demonstrations which are often crucial. Within the university party leaders attempt to minimize their connections with the national headquarters, but this is in deference to the strong sentiment for student autonomy--that no one dictates their beliefs to them. The student leaders are fighting seriously for political futures. The parties take equally seriously the test of their strength in a country where mayors and governors are appointed and congressional and presidential elections are held only every six years. Prado's six-year term will end in 1962, the race is wide open, and there is every reason to examine with care the proclamations, actions, and results of the parties and their candidates in this university election.

The Election Results

Max Hernández, a short, chubby, third-year medical student who has never before taken an important part in politics was overwhelmingly elected president of the University Federation of San Marcos. Ostensibly Hernández was the candidate of the "Unified Front of the Students of Medicine" and the "independent group" of San Marcos. But the massive support which elected him was given by the FER (Revolutionary Student Front), the main organization of the Fidelo-Communists, along with the Independent Student Front (FEI), and such far left groups as the Revolutionary University Youth (JUR, Leninist) and the Social Progress Party (Marxist). Hernández at first briefly refused Fidelo-Communist support, then publicly accepted it. Hernández is a prime example of the difficulty of pinning down many persons' political position in Latin America. He represents in miniature the problem posed by Juan Lechín in Bolivia and Janio Quadros in Brazil. Hernández resolutely refused to make statements during the campaign regarding his own affiliation with or sympathies for communism or Fidelismo. He capitalized on his "independence," but parties in Peru and in the university do not give their wholehearted organizational and financial support without return. Hernández has done nothing to indicate he will interfere with the existing behind-the-scenes Communist domination of Fidelista organizations, and indeed every indication that the University Federation will come even more strongly under the same domination.

Latin American students and professors are not creators of political systems in the manner of Locke, Hume, Hegel, Marx, and Lenin, but they are borrowers. The San Marcos left has borrowed luxuriantly, giving the impression of a great variety of schools following Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and even Mao Tse-tung. But again appearances are deceptive. The small doctrinal differences are matters of intellectual stimulation rather than basic differences in operational practice. It is not unusual for all such groups to support a single candidate who is not a member of any of their organizations.

The Aprista candidate, Humberto Arenas, in a second attempt, again placed second in the balloting. But while he had been defeated by only 44 votes of a total of some 8,000 in 1959, in 1960 the Fidelistas increased their margin to win by 1,230 votes of a total of 8,784 votes cast. Hernández received 4,312 votes to the Apristas' 3,082. The remaining 1,390 went to the candidate of the Christian Democrats who bill themselves as anti-Communist and anti-Aprista. The extraordinary part of the Fidelistas' gain is that in 1959 Aprista Arenas was defeated only narrowly by a coalition of both the Fidelistas and the Christian Democrats, whose winning candidate was Juan Alberto Campos Lama. Then Campos Lama also ran as an "independent" but before and after his election was an ardent Fidelista, making trips to Havana and keeping in constant touch with the Cuban Embassy. More recently he has been prominent in Communist front organizations. In the 1960 elections the Christian Democrats felt strong enough to present their own candidate, but in spite of their

defection from the Fidelistas, the Fidelista candidate dramatically increased his winning margin.

The FER-Fidelista vice presidential candidate, Oscar Macedo, a student of law, won by a similar margin. (Presidential and vice presidential candidates are voted for separately, and voters often split their tickets.) The Fidelistas made nearly a clean sweep of other offices to be filled. In San Marcos there are ten student Federated Centers which represent the students in each of the ten colleges. On the day of the general elections (Sunday, December 18, 1960) ten Secretary-Generals of the Federated Centers were elected. The Fidelistas carried the Colleges of Sciences, Arts, Veterinary Medicine, Chemistry, Economics, Pharmacy, and Law. A candidate of uncertain affiliation, usually considered a Christian Democrat, won Medicine, and the Apristas--who for years had carried all of the Secretary-Generalships--had to content themselves with Education and Dentistry.

According to the principles of "co-government" recently enacted into law by the national legislature the students may also elect representatives to the governing body of the university, the University Council. Here the Apristas made a slightly better showing, electing Aprista representatives for the Colleges of Arts, Sciences, and Dentistry. The Christian Democrats again picked up a lonely representative, this time in the College of Economics. The Fidelistas carried Education, Veterinary Medicine, Chemistry, Law, Pharmacy, and Medicine. The partisans of Fidel Castro in Peru's national university are in control, and they lack little to make their control as complete as Apra's once viselike grip.

The Parties: Fidelo-Communists

At first the Fidelistas had planned to put up their own candidate, an avowed Communist and Castro supporter. But this project was abandoned as a result of the "Campos Lama affair," which occurred only a few weeks before the December elections. Campos Lama was the president of the University Federation elected as an independent by the Fidelistas and Christian Democrats in 1959, but was openly sympathetic to communism and Fidelismo. While on a trip to Havana he made the mistake of signing a document, along with Ecuadorian delegates, which recognized Ecuador's claim to vast expanses of Amazon territory assigned to Peru in a 19-year-old treaty between the two countries that was guaranteed by Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and the United States. (The dispute again became a burning issue last year when newly inaugurated Ecuadorian President José María Velasco Ibarra seized on it for his own reasons, and Peruvian President Prado willingly participated for the unifying pressure it exerts on public opinion.) In the uproar Juan Alberto Campos Lama was branded a "traitor to his country," his name was made anathema in Premier Beltrán's La Prensa, and he was forced to resign the presidency of the University Federation. Although Campos Lama's supporters claimed he had

been destroyed by Beltrán for political reasons, it was clear that an openly Fidelista and Communist candidate would have to overcome unusual obstacles to win the votes of the true independents.

The Fidelistas began a long search for a political unknown who could be run as an independent and yet who was sympathetic to their aims. They found him in Max Hernández, a bona fide and therefore relatively young medical student (Campos Lama had apparently matriculated for several years for political purposes; he is in his balding mid-thirties). Hernández had virtually no following outside the medical school, but the Fidelistas took charge of making him known.

Hernández and Macedo were presented as the "Student Unity" ticket, with the support of the two Fidelista fronts (FEI and FER) and various wholly Communist groups. Thus their platform was a synthesis of the leftist groups: (1) Repeal national legislation which denies co-government (student participation in administration) to the College of Medicine. (2) More income-producing sources set aside for the university. (3) Greater participation of students in university administration. (4) "Defense of democratic liberties." (5) Immediate nationalization of the petroleum industry. (6) Authentic agrarian reform (on the Cuban model, rather than the mild progressive government proposal). (7) Solidarity with the Cuban revolution. The first four planks are nearly a student credo, and appear in platforms of all parties. The substance of the leftist philosophy is in the last three planks.

The Parties: Apristas

The Apristas, conscious of their weakness, attempted to form a coalition with the Christian Democrats early in the campaign, in spite of their profound ideological differences. (This willingness to sacrifice platform for power seems also a national Apra characteristic.) The Christian Democrats refused because they had decided to run their own candidate. The Apristas were forced to run alone and--because of Apra participation in the Prado Government--on a platform similar to the Student Unity platform in the noncontroversial planks, but omitting popular planks opposed by the Government: (1) Comprehensive and authentic agrarian reform (the comparatively mild government proposal). (2) Completion of University City (a complex of new university buildings between Lima and Callao). (3) Repeal of legislation denying co-government to the College of Medicine. (4) Greater income for the university. (5) Free medical care. (6) A student medical clinic. (7) A student consumers' co-operative. (8) A student press. (9) Intensified cultural extension programs. (10) Appointment of professors only after they have submitted to competitive examinations. The Apristas made no pronouncement respecting either gradual nationalization of petroleum (favored by the Government and opposed by most students) or its immediate expropriation, nor was there any mention of Cuba.

Arenas has had a long history as a university politician. He was a delegate for his class before the Federated Center of the College of Arts, delegate of the Federated Center to the University Federation, Secretary-General of the Federated Center, and, last year, candidate for the presidency of the University Federation. More interesting was his public accusation against Antonio Pinilla Sánchez Concha--onetime Minister of Labor--who established an Institute of Human Relations in the university, partly as his sounding board and training ground for political satellites. Arenas presented a report accusing Pinilla of "irregularities" in the administration of the Institute, and made a major point in his last year's campaign of "administrative morality." The faculty University Council accepted the report, and placed the formerly autonomous Institute under the administration of the College of Economics. This was a personal triumph for Arenas, and so stung Professor Pinilla that he sued Arenas for defamation of character.

The Parties: Christian Democrats

The Christian Democrats belong to a small national party which had its beginnings in the University of San Agustín in Arequipa. In the years 1950-51 Apristas and Communists of Arequipa (mainly nonstudents) sponsored a series of anti-Catholic demonstrations. A group of the students violently opposed the demonstrations, and on September 27, 1955, formally organized the Christian Democratic Movement. During this time Dictator Manuel Odría's Interior Security Law of the Republic was in full effect, suspending many civil liberties. The first object of the Christian Democrats was the revocation of this law and the restoration of civil liberties. They held a series of meetings which culminated on December 21, 1955, when a manifestation was broken up with violence and one of the students, Oscar Balbuena Marroquín, lost the sight of an eye. The incident resulted in the fall of Odría's Minister of Government, Esparza Zañartu. The party, small but vigorous, spread through the south of Peru and participated in the elections of 1956, electing deputies from Arequipa and Cuzco.

Balbuena withdrew from the University of San Agustín and went to Lima for medical treatment. After he recovered he entered San Marcos instead of returning to Arequipa. In 1960 he was the Christian Democrats' candidate for the presidency of the University Federation, with Luís Villena Durand as vice presidential candidate. Despite their avowed opposition to the Apristas and Communists this was the first time the Christian Democrats had presented their own ticket--not forming a coalition with one or the other.

This year, however, they made much of their new independence, claiming they were "apolitical," that they had no liaisons with the Apristas, the Fidelistas, nor even with their own national party organization--which was not strictly true. They thought in this way to capture the votes of what they supposed to be the "immense sector of students who hold themselves apart from the political and 'front' activities of the university . . . who owe no debts to

the FER, FEI, or FUR, and who wish only for the good of the university." The results of the election clearly showed that this "immense sector" does not exist, rather the Cuban revolution and Fidelismo had attracted previously uncommitted students to the FER.

The platform of the Christian Democrats was practically identical to that of the Fidelistas, with one innovation, calling for medical care for university students under the supervision of the Social Security system.

The Election Campaign

The campaign was closely followed by the public. It received extensive coverage from national newspapers and magazines, and the radio and television stations of Lima. The interest centered around two questions: how much of its hold does Apra still retain, and to what degree has Fidelismo penetrated the university. Student interest was high. In spite of examinations which coincided with the elections (the semiannual examinations which should have been taken months ago were postponed to this late date because of a long student strike) the elections held first place in effort and attention. Literally every available square foot of the walls of the university was covered with posters, photographs, exhortations, and denunciations. Humberto Arenas, the Aprista candidate, calculated that 100,000 soles (\$4,000) had been spent in this type of propaganda alone. This could only mean that money was flowing into the campaign from outside the university, apparently from Aprista and Christian Democratic parties, as well as from the Cuban Embassy.

Directives, too, came from outside the university. They concerned the management of the campaigns and were issued by national party headquarters, especially those of the Apristas and Christian Democrats. The Aprista candidates were under orders as to what they should say and what they should not say from the Propaganda Bureau of the Aprista Party--to the point that, when the candidate did not respond quickly to a situation, he was said to be waiting orders from Alfonso Ugarte (name of the avenue where Apra headquarters are located). In spite of their protestations to the contrary much the same was true of the Christian Democrats. The intervention of the two parties within the university was obvious enough, the strange part of the campaign was that the Fidelo-Communists were either left to their own devices, or outside interference was hidden with exceptional care. University student sympathizers of Fidel Castro and the Communists organized and conducted the campaigns of Hernández and Macedo, as they did for the FER candidates for other offices. The active Fidelo-Communist-liners from outside the university, who normally are seen almost daily at San Marcos--such as Genaro Carnero Checa, Alejandro Romualdo, Luís Felipe Angell (Sofocleto), Gustavo Valcárcel, Guillermo Scheen Lazo, and Luís Damonte Larraín--remarkably absented themselves for the campaign. Also remarkable was the restraint of the Fidelistas in their poster propaganda, compared with the Apristas. Placards boosting



Students crowd the corridors after voting.



Coeds campaign for Aprista Humberto Arenas.



Students in the Law Patio inspect posters on election day.

Hernández were almost insignificant compared with the enormous posters vaunting Arenas.

The Fidelistas also seemed to gauge student temper better than the other parties in following a tactic of focusing the campaign on university problems, stressing "student unity." The Apristas on the other hand attacked the Fidelista candidate both on personal grounds and nonuniversity matters, such as the Rio de Janeiro Treaty. The Fidelistas did not attempt to defend Campos Lama, and the issue was effective only for a short time. They turned deaf ears to the Apristas' insults, instead emphasized the deterioration of the university, the low living standards of the students, and the university's insufficient income. Attacks on Yanqui imperialism were thrown in almost from force of habit at first, but became more intense later in the campaign.

After their second defeat in two years the members of the Aprista FUR realized the handicap they had suffered in being under the thumb of party headquarters on Alfonso Ugarte. An Aprista student in the College of Education, Hugo Salas, described his feelings: "The leaders [referring to Priale and other national Aprista figures] are preparing our own grave. They dug the first spadeful in 1956, and now, if they don't allow us to act in our own way, Aprismo will disappear in the university." A student of law, Carlos Ruíz, added, "We are tired of following directions. We [students] don't have political pacts with anyone."

The Aprista attack on the Fidelo-Communists was circuitous and almost wholly ineffective. It centered on Communist support of Ecuadorian President José María Velasco Ibarra's outspoken desire to revise the 1942 Rio de Janeiro Treaty to annex territory which it recognized as Peruvian. The Apristas brought this home to the university by stressing over and over again that Juan Alberto Campos Lama had been elected as an "independent," became the leader of the Fidelo-Communists in the university after his election as president of the FUSM, and signed a Communist-inspired paper in Havana recognizing Ecuador's claims. What the Apristas did not realize was that Campos Lama retained much of his great popularity even after resigning as president, and that the San Marcos students discounted most of the public attack on Campos Lama as "machinations of Pedro Beltrán and the International Petroleum Company." One indication of this was Campos Lama's reception at the university when he made an unexpected entrance on election day. He was cheered, hoisted on students' shoulders, and paraded around University Park. One student commented that if Campos Lama had run again for president of the University Federation, he would undoubtedly have been elected.

Late in their campaign the Apristas became aware of the weakness of their approach and tried new strategy. They began to stress their interest in university reform, and tried to unmask Max Hernández as the tonto útil of the Fidelo-Communists. (Tonto útil is an expressive political phrase which means roughly "the unknowing tool," or "the useful fool.") Since Hernández insisted

on his independence, in spite of his acceptance of the Fidelo-Communist support of the FER, FEI, and JUR, Arenas challenged Hernández to a debate on university problems in the Law Patio. Hernández replied he was willing to debate, but on television. Since neither candidate made any move to secure air time, the matter died without forcing Hernández to state his position on issues related to Castro and communism.

The three presidential candidates and the three vice presidential candidates made the rounds of classes where lectures were being given. After asking permission which the professor in view of student power in the university was forced to give, each candidate gave an exposition of his party's platform, his view of university problems, and his proposed solutions. Each candidate was careful to avoid direct attacks on the other candidates, which would certainly have provoked outbursts in the politically divided captive audiences. It was generally conceded that Max Hernández made the most effective presentation. There is no doubt the Fidelistas were received with the most sympathy.

The Elections

The elections were held Sunday, December 18, from 8:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m. Students deposited their secret and direct votes in 60 ballot boxes located in all colleges of the university. For the first time faculty members served as representative members of the electoral jury, along with students, in each of the colleges (one of the provisions of the new co-government law). The electoral jury was presided over by Dr. Miguel Villier, Professor of Law.

The elections were held without major incident. The main excitement was caused by the sudden entrance of Juan Alberto Campos Lama, who received applause from the Fidelistas and Communists and whistles of derision from the Apristas and Christian Democrats. He was carried on students' shoulders to the clock tower of University Park where he gave a speech recommending his listeners vote for Max Hernández.

By 4:00 a.m. the next morning all ballots had been counted. Combining the tallies in the individual colleges the total votes cast for officers of the University Federation were:

Fidelo-Communist (FER-Unity)

President, Max Hernández	4,312
Vice President, Oscar Macedo	4,241

Aprista

President, Humberto Arenas	3,082
Vice President, Augusto Galván	3,068

Christian Democrat

President, Oscar Balbuena	1,390
Vice President, Luís Villena	1,447

A total of 8,784 votes cast for president. This was a new vote record in a student election at San Marcos. It was calculated that 79.8 per cent of students eligible actually voted. Hernández won in all the colleges except Dentistry, where Arenas won 364 votes to Hernández' 282 (Balbuena received 83); in Pharmacy (Arenas 298, Hernández 45, Balbuena 184); and in Obstetrics¹ (a tie with Arenas and Hernández each receiving 61, Balbuena 21).

Reporting the news, La Prensa attempted to minimize the Fidelo-Communist victory by adding together the votes of the Apristas and the Christian Democrats to show that the Fidelistas were still in a minority in the university (4,312 Fidelista-sympathizers; the Apristas and Christian Democrats together total 4,472). This calculation does not seem as significant as the fact that in the last year, since the elections of 1959, the Fidelo-Communist FER slate picked up 1,186 new votes. The Fidelista sweep of other offices has already been noted.

Hernández continued his equivocal position after the results of the election were known. When asked directly he stated "I am neither a Communist nor a pro-Communist." However, at the end of December he was one of several national Fidelista and Communist figures who announced they had accepted Fidel Castro's invitation to attend the second anniversary celebration of the Cuban revolution in Havana. But, Hernández and all the rest of the group except one canceled their air reservations without any public explanation. They may have been warned that Peru intended to break diplomatic relations with Cuba, which it did on December 31, the eve of the anniversary celebrations.

The precise relationship between Fidelismo and communism remains unclear in the university, as elsewhere. In the many organizations professing Fidelismo the effective leaders are identified with communism, but they usually do not occupy official positions and remain out of the public eye. On the other hand, the elected officials of the organizations--those leaders who are most in public evidence--do not openly profess communism. They are deliberately reticent about their political views, aside from sympathy with Fidel Castro. But they are not the people in ultimate control.

It is the opinion of most students, Aprista, Christian Democrat, and Fidelista alike, that Max Hernández falls into the latter category. He is called the tonto útil, the useful but unwitting tool, of the Fidelo-Communist FER, and is expected to act as president of the Federation in the way the Communist-sympathizing leaders direct. Hernández, although he is politically inexperi-

¹ The College of Obstetrics is separate from the College of Medicine.

enced, is not stupid. In this respect the phrase tonto útil seems inappropriate. He may well be what he appears--a leader without firmly based political ideas who is thinking primarily of the university and its problems in terms which cross the ill-defined boundaries of party doctrines. He may believe he can remain independent while accepting the political management of the pro-Communists. This is more naïve than stupid.

The situation points up once again the old problem in interpreting Latin American politics: parties are not based on a fixed philosophy of government underlying a relatively stable statement of principles and program of action independent of personalities. The unifying theme of the Fidelistas is overthrow of the government. There is little thought of principles to guide the construction of a new government and society after that has been accomplished. This places the Fidelistas and romantic revolutionaries in the power of the Communists who share the theme, but also have a program of action once the revolution has taken place.

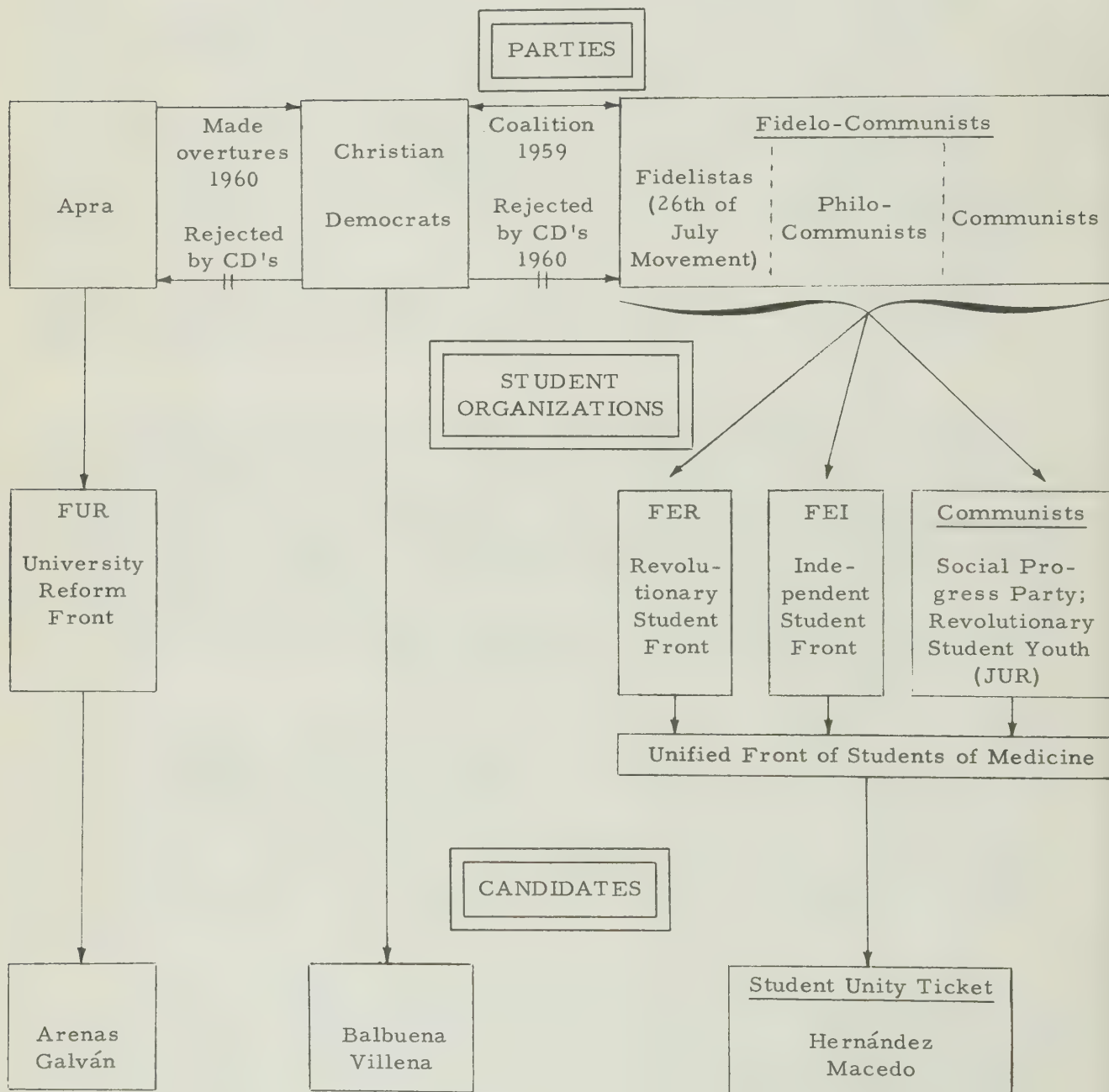
The Peruvian Government recognized this relationship when it first broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, then pressed for a law which would make communism illegal.

San Marcos students are typical of the radically inclined students of Latin America. As older radical political doctrines decline, Fidelismo is the alternative at present. Fidelismo seems but a step on the road to communism. Fidelo-Communism has gotten an early and firm grasp on the students of San Marcos because of their profound disillusionment with Aprismo and with "co-existence." This does not yet mean that they have completely rejected Western democratic ideals of personal liberty and economic freedom, but it does mean that the students have been unable to reconcile these ideals with evident poverty, social distinctions, and political irregularities.

Richard W. Patch

APPENDIX I

Relation of Parties, Student Organizations, and Candidates



APPENDIX II

PUBLISHED PROPAGANDAThe Christian Democrats

One of the most cogent and eloquent campaign pamphlets was published by the Christian Democrats under the title, "To San Marcos Students from San Marcos Students of Christian Thought Who Propose the Candidacy of Oscar Balbuena M. and Luís Villena D. for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the FUSM" The pamphlet, typifying the Christian Democrats' entire campaign, was far more virulent an attack on the Apristas than on the Fidelistas and Communists:

During more than thirty years the Peruvian university movement, especially in San Marcos, has evolved without Marxist concepts It has lacked Christian guidance which would show a new reason and motivation for the restlessness and sense of frustrated justice of our youth Instead the noble Christian sentiments of the students have been replaced by hate, by prejudice, and by social resentment, on the part of those persons who falsely believe that by these means they can attain brotherhood and social welfare Until last year the Apra party practically monopolized the university movement At first they were pugnacious supporters of university reforms, but the Apristas have steadily lost their radicalness and their vigor, while at the same time they have elaborated their limping doctrine and their sectarianism. Operating according to directions imposed upon them by their party, the Apristas made the university their gaming ground, and as their power waned they were ever more ready to resort to methods of violence. Aprismo lost its initial revolutionary inspiration when it compromised itself by union with economic interests which it formerly fought

Consequently the FUR [University Reform Front, Aprista] has irredeemably weakened its former strength. Its adherents have decreased as its plans and attitudes have lost influence. Overwhelmed in the elections of 1959, their decline would have been even more rapid if the Marxists and their allies who won the FUSM had not been even less productive for the university than the Apristas. Now their only hope is to capitalize upon the discontent of the great majority, and, in effect, clothed in new vestments of measured seriousness, to direct themselves to a disaffected electorate, confronting them with the unhappy choice of submitting to the yoke of the Communists or supporting the ambitions of the Apristas

[Compared with their attack on Apra, the Christian Democrats sound almost wistfully admiring of the organization and tactics of the Fidelo-Communists:]

The Peruvian Communist Party in the service of international Communism has intervened in the last four years each day in a more direct and coherent manner in a struggle for the control of the university according to its own precepts and for its own ends As Apra has crippled itself precisely at the moment when Moscow cast its eye on Latin America, well knowing that the inhuman conditions in which she lives is a fertile field for its imperialist advance, the Communist Party has ever intensified its attempt to gain dominion over the university.

According to systematically drawn plans it has gained sympathizers for its front, it has slowly unwound the muffler from the face of its personality, revealing its naked Communism. As the resistance which our mores at first offered began to crumble, it is lamentable to observe that, tricked by confusing "leftishness" or a desire for social justice with Marxism, the major part of our political students have ideologically identified themselves with the Communists, and only base their differences on degrees of "moderation" or "extremeness."

At first [in 1958] the FER [Revolutionary Student Front, Fidelo-Communist] judged it opportune to test its strength in electoral combat. Then it had no thought of a unified student anti-Aprista movement which it now proclaims with such boldness, but it later found it convenient to change its tactic. Encouraging the disgust which years of mistaken Aprista government had awakened, they now try to identify themselves with the "independents" and thus arrive at a supposed "Unity" which is, however, Marxist It is enough for them to make sure that no convinced anti-Communist may come to office, because they are sure, being the FER, that their group is the best organized, with the clearest and most concrete objectives, not only in the university but nationally and internationally, thus it will be they who will pull the strings from behind the scenes and clinch their grasp on the University Federation of San Marcos.

[The Apristas, considerably more damaged by the Christian Democrats' attacks than the Fidelo-Communists, began tearing down Christian Democrat posters--an unusual move in San Marcos. In spite of the small number of posters damaged the Christian Democrats saw a new opening and redoubled their attack on Apra. They replaced the posters with others reading, "Although they destroy the posters they will not destroy the truth!" In other

broad-sides they extended the attack to the Fidelo-Communists: "Communism and Aprismo are equally the enemies of the university. To the truth they reply with bullying acts, to honesty with sarcasm Why? Because they understand our candidates endanger their ambitions Because our candidates tell the truth Because for the first time something new and coherent opposes them in San Marcos Because they are incapable of debate "]

The Apristas

The Apristas were enough disconcerted by the Christian Democrats' pamphlet, and especially their reply to the destruction of the posters, that they came out with a leaflet titled, "The 8th [Commandment]: Do Not Lie." This shrewdly needled the Christian Democrats in the sensitive area of their high moral posture.

The candidates of the Christian Democratic Party for the presidency and vice presidency of the FUSM have brought into circulation a pamphlet destined to trap the incautious. But the political figure who is the author of this pamphlet, and whose partisanship is known, appears to ignore that what the youth of San Marcos wants is CLEANNESS as opposed to turbid political maneuvers, HONESTY as opposed to creole gossip, DIGNITY as opposed to hypocrisy, and FIRM CONVICTIONS as opposed to the chameleonism of those who present themselves as "independents" or "Christians" for an election when yesterday they were politically allied to whomever was convenient at the moment.

For such a shameful reality, we denounce before the conscience of the University Youth that the author of the pamphlet titled, "To San Marcos Students" is none other than the Christian Democratic leader and Deputy for Arequipa, [Hector] Cornejo Chávez, ex-secretary of Dr. José Luís Bustamante y Rivero [ex-President of the Republic], who in October 1948 tore down the portals of our university with tanks meant for the defense of the Fatherland, not for the mistreatment of the Alma Mater of Peruvian culture. The Christian Democratic group which follows Cornejo Chávez makes false assertions in the said pamphlet which demonstrates that they are NOT CHRISTIAN because they violate the eighth commandment of the Law of God which says, "Neither bear false witness nor lie." They lie in pronouncing themselves against Aprismo and claiming independence. They forget that when they attempted to utilize Aprista votes to elect [national] Christian Democratic Deputies Barreda Moller and Luque and Christian Democratic Senator Bielich Flores, for Lima, they then considered the Apristas good people and not "buffaloes." And they lie in pronouncing themselves

against the Communist list, because in Arequipa and Cuzco they formed pacts with the Communists in the elections of 1956 And they lie in writing inconsiderately of coexistence [Peruvian nomenclature for the Apra pact with Prado] and "governmentalism" because when they attempted to gain an extra deputy in Cajamarca, also in 1956, they had neither shame, nor were they "independents" nor "Christians" in making a pact with Prado incorporating into the MDP [Prado's party] list the present Deputy Mario Alzamora Valdéz Lastly, these gentlemen of the Balbuena-Villena list, of the Christian Democratic Party (today covered with the cassock of "independents") have committed the stupidity of forgetting that only a year ago they voted with the Communists for no one less than Campos LAMA; they forget the scandalous marriage of the Christian Democrats of Cuzco with the Communists in the recent elections of the University Federation of Cuzco. And with the same cynicism of their intellectual mentor, while they denounce Communism on one hand, they make agreements with them on the other, as they have done in the present list of the College of Medicine And their poor memory makes them forget that while they proclaim themselves "reformers" they have as leaders Alberto Hurtado and Honorio Delgado who are enemies of the University Reform for which San Marcos students fought.

The Fidelo-Communists

The strategy of the Fidelo-Communists in their written proclamations was to ignore Aprista accusations concerning recognition of Ecuadorian claims and Christian Democratic exposition of international Communist connections. In the latter part of the campaign their principal maneuver with the Apristas was to identify university Apristas with the Aprista right wing which made the 1956 "coexistence" agreement with Manuel Prado, then identify this wing, Prado, and his Premier, Pedro Beltrán, with the United States and "imperialism," and to proclaim themselves the only authentic "anti-imperialists."

Regardless of the vacillations, the concessions, the limping steps of that sector of the student body which is still influenced by the right wing of Apra--better known as the "coexisters"--the majority of students maintain unaltered their anti-imperialist vigor, their acceptance of the great fight to free the workers, and of the supreme objective of liberating the nation In recent years all Latin America is turning to the transcendental position of anti-imperialism. In Montevideo Eisenhower, followed by the long shadow of Fidel Castro, was forced to bear the rejection and disdain of Uruguayan students. In Brazil the late Foster Dulles had to be escorted away from the grapeshot and taunts

of students In Bolivia the Consul of Wall Street [apparently Ambassador Carl Strom], in his attempt to distort the meaning of the Cuban revolution, was thrown from the lecture halls of the University of San Simón in Cochabamba [--all this is grossly exaggerated] In Venezuela the proimperialist vacillation of Betancourt is condemned by university youth. In Cuba the participation of youth is indisputable: first in their martyred resistance to Batista's dictatorship, later in the heroic battles of the Sierra Maestra, and today in their tenacious, happy, and solitary construction of the new Cuban society

In our own country the repudiation of Nixon was unanimous among the students, and fortified the anti-imperialist front. In the universities of Huamanga, Trujillo, and San Marcos the agents of Beltrán, Aguirre Roca, Chirinos Soto, and Jorge L. Recavarren [the last two are political columnists and commentators on the staff of Beltrán's newspaper] are prevented from accomplishing their dirty labor of confusion Frank Díaz Silvera, a tourist representative of the Cuban counterrevolution, is thrown from the halls of San Marcos All these acts demonstrate the existence of a lucid anti-imperialist conscience opposed to the false propositions of the Apristas. Their fake revolutionary position is discovered and their support of the oligarchy is revealed

We FERistas fight unstintingly for the concrete satisfaction of the most sharply felt needs of the students. Our reason-for-being is not based on sectarianism nor on dogmatism, we recognize we are not the only ones who are pursuing the same ends --there are also other fronts [FEL, JUR] who work for the same goals. Thus our unity is not a maneuver nor a sophism This unity has made possible the continuation of our conquests such as the special student fare on public transportation, and co-government within the university, fruits of our labor benefit not only the Communists but all students We FERistas are not Machiavellians as we are called by the Jesuit Christian Democrats, we are Marxists, and as such we fight

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